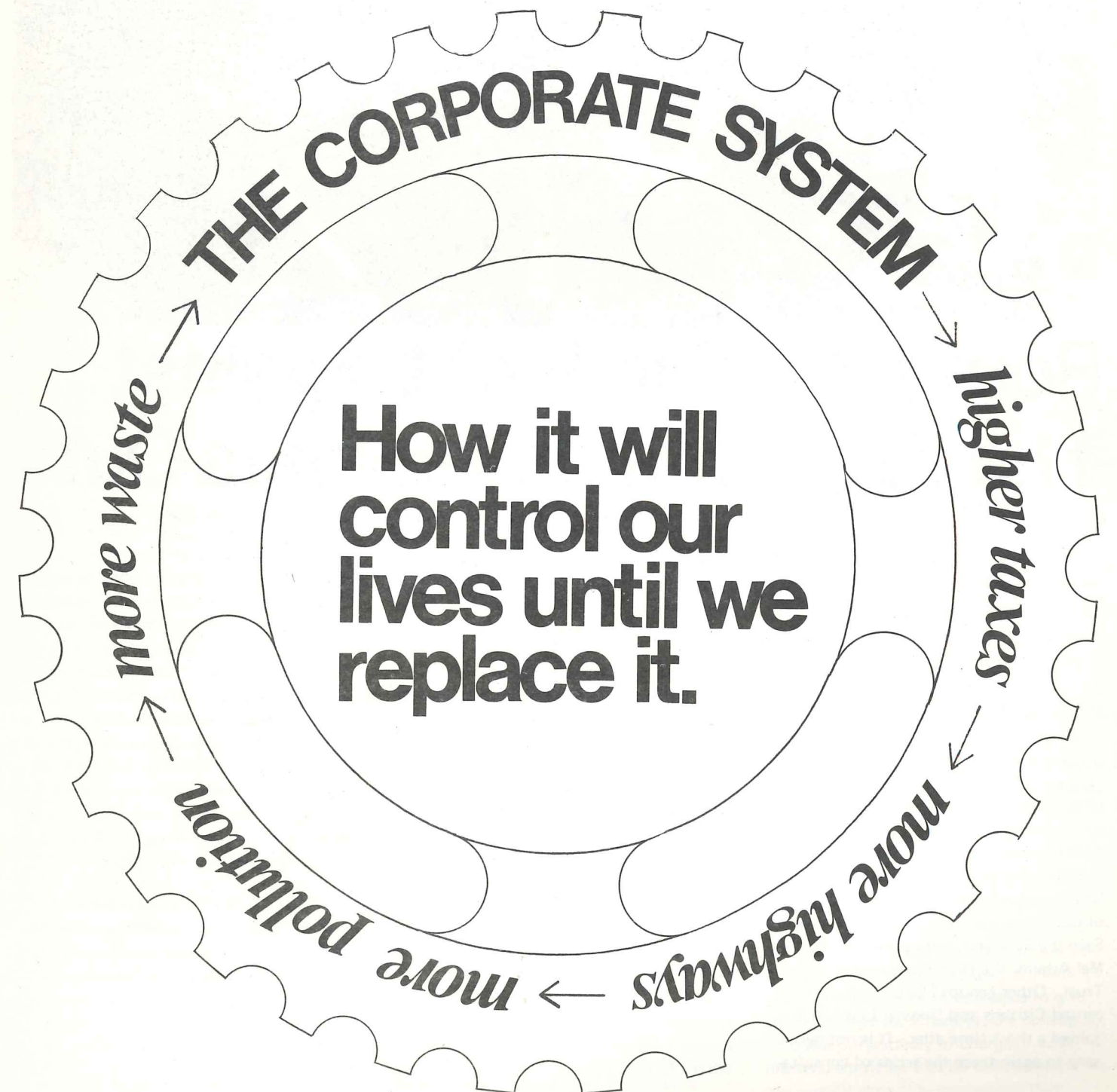


AIM

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Route 34: The Fight Against The Juggernaut Branches Out

by Harriet Johnson

The "Paris Peace talks" on Route 34 have dead ended. The State Highway Department and the City refuse to abandon their plans for this 16-lane speedway and the Anti-Route 34 Coalition refuses to abandon its efforts to defeat it.

About six months ago AIM and several other community groups began talking about stopping Route 34. The beginnings of the anti-Route 34 coalition and its evolution have been chronicles in the AIM Newsletter. Readers will recall the coalition: AIM, Dwight Area Association, Hill Neighborhood Corporation, Coalition of Concerned Citizens, New Haven NAACP, Save the Park and, until pressure from Mel Adams, the New Haven Preservation Trust. Other groups like Dwight Concerned Citizens and Dixwell Legal Rights joined a short time after. It is not necessary to again trace the series of consulta-

tions, discussions and negotiation sessions we have had with the State Highway Department and New Haven officials. Suffice it to say that all of these efforts have reached a dead end.

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New Action

When this end became a reality the Coalition decided to submit two bills for the consideration of the State Legislature. One called for repeal of the 20 million dollar authorization to build Route 34 through New Haven. The other stated that the land already taken by the State Highway Department should be given over to neighborhood corporations in the affected areas for building low-cost housing and other community facilities. A public hearing on these bills was scheduled before the joint committee on Roads and Bridges of the State Legislature.

At first the Coalition was unable to learn exactly when this hearing would be held. We knew the date would remain unknown until just before it took place. We mobilized the groups in the Coalition to be ready to act as soon as we got the work. This included a serious effort to try to get the Roads and Bridges Commit-

tee to hold the hearings in New Haven. We know that most people cannot afford to take a whole day off from work to go to Hartford; we felt that if it took place in New Haven people could be involved and thus more of our strength would be demonstrated. (It is a sad fact that the Committee generally makes a definite correlation between the amount of people who turn up for a hearing and the sentiment in a city against a particular project.)

Despite all this, our request to have the hearing in New Haven was rejected and a hearing date was scheduled for March 20 at 2 p.m. in the State Capitol Building in Hartford. The Coalition made plans to hold a rally the proceeding Tuesday so that the maximum number of people could take part in expressing their opposition to the highway. If the Roads and Bridges Committee won't come to the people, we said, then we will take the issue directly to the people ourselves.

The Rally

For the Rally we assembled a broad and rather impressive collection of groups and speakers to give their support to stopping Route 34. Ten thousand leaflets were distributed door-to-door, mostly in the Hill and Dwight Neighborhoods during the several days before the rally. We launched a well-organized blitz on the news media—the Register, Journal-Courier and all local radio and TV stations. The releases covered both information about the rally, the reasons for its being held, our position on Route 34, and the need for housing and mass transportation. The radio stations and Channel 8 were most receptive. Both the Journal-Courier and the Register froze us out the day of the rally but gave us some coverage of the rally itself.

In addition to the regular anti-route 34 groups, the following organizations and individuals joined us at the rally to support our position against Route 34: the Black Coalition of Greater New Haven, Hill Parents Association, University Park Dixwell Community Council, Democratic Reform Movement, Yale Non-Faculty Action Committee, Hill Action Group, Caucus of Connecticut Democrats, the Architects Resistance. Individuals supporting us included Vincent Scully from Yale, State Representative Robert Oliver, State Senator and Alderman John DiRienzo and

Aldermanic Majority Leader Anthony Ambrogio. They were unable to attend, as were Aldermen Rees, Mauro and Tacinelli because the Mayor had called an emergency meeting of the Board of Aldermen for that evening! The rally attracted between 300 and 400 people.

Speakers & Guerillas

A lively and enthusiastic crowd greeted each speaker with shouts of approval and applause. A highlight of the evening was the AIM Mobile Theatre, which presented a guerilla theatre piece entitled "The Highwaymen." It showed vividly how the people get pushed around by highway and renewal programs which are in fact controlled by the automobile-oil-construction corporations. Hopefully the assembled crowd got the message! The individual speakers all reiterated the desperate need for housing in New Haven and the availability of the Route 34 land for this purpose. Some stressed the need for mass transit and the right of people to control the decisions that affect them most directly—like highways being run through their neighborhoods. Most agreed that the fight against Route 34 would not end with the hearing in Hartford the following Thursday, but would have to be escalated. The rally ended with coffee and doughnuts and promises to come to Hartford.

The Hearing

The Farmers' Almanac said that Thursday, March 20 was to be the first day of Spring this year. So we assembled on the site of the proposed highway, (on the wasteland at Legion and Orchard streets) for a combination treeplanting and send-off demonstration. We erected a large sign, similar to the usual ones placed at prospective construction sites. It read: "On this site to be built: Housing for the people displaced by Mayor Lee's Highway-Renewal Programs—Stop Rt.34." In addition we planted (with the help of many school kids who were on their lunch hour) a tree as a symbol of life and growth in stark contrast to the destruction and despair that highways and renewal programs cause. After TV and radio interviews, our group, about 50 people strong, climbed into cars for the trip to Hartford. Dozens of others had come to the site to wish us well and participate in the demonstration. (We have been told that right after we left the police tore down the sign and ripped up the tree. Not even a

tiny evergreen can survive. The city crushes out life in multiple ways!)

We arrived in Hartford at 1:30 p.m. and lunched in the Capitol building cafeteria—a most depressing experience in itself. The hearing was scheduled for 2 p.m. in room 410, and we arrived there promptly. The Committee was forced to move the hearing to a larger room which was still too small to hold our group and the other townsfolk who had come regarding other issues to be heard that same day. At this point we learned that Branford and East Hartford were to be on the agenda ahead of New Haven. (It sure is frustrating to see those suburbanites get better treatment all the time.) After roaming around the capitol for three and a half hours and sitting patiently during a lot of disgruntled East Hartford talk, we were called upon to speak. The Committee chairman, Paul Amenta, thanked us first for our endurance. Then he asked the State Highway Department to give their position on all the Route 34 bills. This included our two bills and several submitted by Representative Bob Oliver. (Oliver's bills addressed themselves to narrowing the highway, holding more hearings and other considerations.)

Another Dance

The Highway Department did its usual song and dance routine. Afterwards, two members of the Committee asked two important questions, one on the exact width of the highway and the other on the number of people that have been relocated from the site. Neither answer given was accurate. In the first instance Mr. Johnson, the State's chief highway engineer, insisted that the highway was in fact 350 feet at its widest point. He explained upon pressure that his measurement did not include the Frontage Roads as part of the design since these streets already exist and will be maintained by the city once the highway is completed. Fortunately the Committee members did not fall for this. They responded with big smirks and remarks like—"then it really is 480 altogether, right?" In regard to the issue of relocation, Mr. Johnson first stated that everyone had been adequately relocated from the site (groans from audience). He then asked a colleague to give the exact figures. However, the colleague, who was purportedly in charge of such matters, admitted that he did not know the specific details but suggested that

there had already been about 600 families relocated and about 150 more would likely be the final total. These figures, although probably low estimates, really made an impact on the Committee. We will soon know exactly how deep the impact was! It is worth noting that Mr. Johnson opposed a bill, proposed by the city, which would create ramps connecting Route 34 to the new six-lane State Street. Without these ramps, it is impossible to get to Route 34 Westbound within the city limits of New Haven.

Our Coalition's presentation began with a description of the New Haven rally. We gave the Committee photographs of the event to show the great crowd and kind of cross-section of community residents that attended. We presented them with petitions we had collected and a tape recording of the entire rally, hoping they would have access to a tape recorder and could hear what people who could not come to Hartford had to say. We then gave our criticism of the highway design; individuals, representing groups or themselves, got up to testify. All the

groups who appeared at Tuesday's rally were not able to attend, but the names of all such organizations were entered into the record.

Personal Statements

At the end of all our testimony the chairman asked if anyone else would like to speak. At that point many individuals felt moved to say what was on their minds. Several workers from the Hill Neighborhood Corporation and one from the Connecticut Mental Health Center spoke. One interesting statement was that presented by the legislative assistant for the New Haven Chamber of Commerce. He expressed great anxiety about testifying in favor of the highway, which he said his employer had commissioned him to do. He said that after listening to our presentation he could not agree personally with the official position of the Chamber and wanted it made clear that his own feelings were quite different. He found it hard to reconcile the Chamber's goal of general city betterment with a plan that obviously contradicts that goal. He

was visibly shaken and moved and his remarks were closely followed by everyone in the room. Hopefully the Committee understood and will act in the spirit of his confession.

The anti-Route 34 speakers gave an impressive performance. The city, which was represented by John Cavallero of the Department of Traffic and Parking, could not really refute or dismiss us, although he certainly tried. For example, he announced right at the beginning of his testimony that we really didn't represent everyone in New Haven! But that surely is not the point, and some people thought the Committee felt that as well. But the unfortunate aspect of the whole hearing is that the Committee will probably not vote in response to our statements and arguments against Route 34 even though they appeared somewhat receptive to what we offered. When all is said and done they will probably vote the way Mayor Lee wants them to. And he works to perpetuate the highway interests.

WHY AIM FIGHTS ROUTE 34

AIM fights against Route 34 first because it has displaced hundreds of a families and hundreds of housing units at a time when there is a critical housing shortage; because it has destroyed the Legion Avenue shopping area which served neighborhood and city-wide customers; because it will create a physical barrier between the Hill and Dwight communities; because it will increase traffic in New Haven and add to the air pollution crisis. Furthermore the most disgusting aspect

of this highway is that it serves no function except to enable suburban commuters to speed downtown. And last but not least, the people of this city need an alternative means of traveling from place to place—a comprehensive public transportation system. Route 34 will further delay the building of such a system by softening the pressures that call for it. As an immediate solution, we have demanded that the land already acquired by the State Highway Commissioner for Route

34 be turned over to the affected neighborhoods for the development of low cost housing and related community facilities. And in conjunction with this we demand that the city change its emphasis from highways and parking garages and give exclusive attention to creating a viable mass transit system.

The Highway Juggernaut

We've tried negotiations, discussion, reason, rationale. We've suggested alter-

natives—like creating a mass transit system and feeding the prospective Route 34 traffic onto the Boulevard or an on-surface road along Legion Avenue. But that's not how the highway-renewal juggernaut works. It doesn't understand reason, nor does it respond to the critical needs of city residents. It is inconvenienced by the demand to consider possible alternative routes for auto traffic, and has nothing but contempt for the demand to create adequate public transit systems.

What it all boils down to is the question of who holds the power and resources, and what those who have power and resources want to do with them. It certainly is no secret that the "highway lobby"—highway construction companies, automobile manufacturers, steel, oil, rubber and other auto-related corporations—is one of the most powerful forces in the country. You hardly need to know that eight of the ten largest corporations in the country are in this group—just look around and see what they have done to the cities and the countryside. And if that is in fact the case, you can be sure that this "lobby" is not keen on creating alternative means of transportation which would be more convenient and cheaper for the people.

The demands of the highway lobby all too often coincide with, and in fact dictate, the need to tear down housing, schools and parks to make way for superhighways and parking garages. Here in New Haven the desires of the highway juggernaut fit so very neatly into Mayor Lee's vision of a new New Haven—"a nexus of highway interchanges". The Mayor, along with Yale University, wants to "clean-up" the city, which really means destroy-

ing low-income housing (read low-income people), to build high and middle-income housing (read high and middle-income people); the Oak Street Connector project is one perfect example of this. So the Mayor has put the bulldozer and concrete mixer to work and that strategy has further enriched the highway combine at the expense of the people of New Haven.

AIM has come to recognize that the struggle to save the cities: to change priorities and create a decent urban life goes much beyond picketing Mel Adams' house or calling for Mayor Lee's defeat. The way in which this country's economic and political system works, there will always be other Lee-Adams teams whose sole function is to maintain the status quo. Cities are changing. When they're not going up in flames they are being bulldozed and renewed to make way for new downtowns which house the giant corporation offices, new luxury towers which house the corporation leaders and new superhighways to serve those corporation types and their friends who still choose urban living. That the working man has no place to live, fewer and fewer places to shop and no real means of travel besides an automobile is no coincidence. And I think it is fair to say that this "coincidence" is why we fight Route 34, knowing full well that the solution to the problems Route 34 raises lie outside current political channels.

The rest of the Route 34 saga is yet to be played out. We know that stopping Route 34 is a huge task but that its defeat

is worth the hard work and pain. From the enthusiasm shown at the rally and the Hearing, it would be fair to say that many people in New Haven are prepared to fight on. Some of us even feel that if we all stick together and organize others we can win. We must keep in mind at all times that highways are the soft underbelly of the powers that may soon cover everything over with concrete. And getting at the soft underbelly is what is ultimately important.

VICTORY!

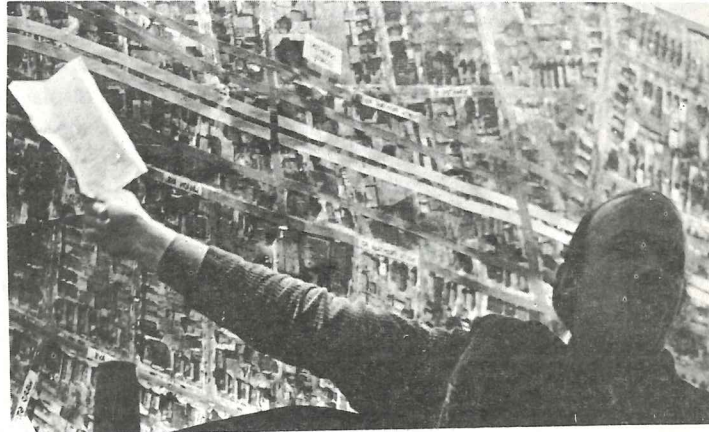
On Saturday, March 29, the "Oakland Seven" were acquitted in San Francisco. The Seven were charged with conspiracy in connection with anti-draft activities in 1967. They are all involved in movement activities in San Francisco, working with groups like SDS, SNCC and The Movement.

A guilty plea would have been a victory for the government in many ways. It would have put seven key Bay Area movement leaders in jail. It also would have helped the government in its insidious use of conspiracy charges to put people in jail for a wide variety of political activities.

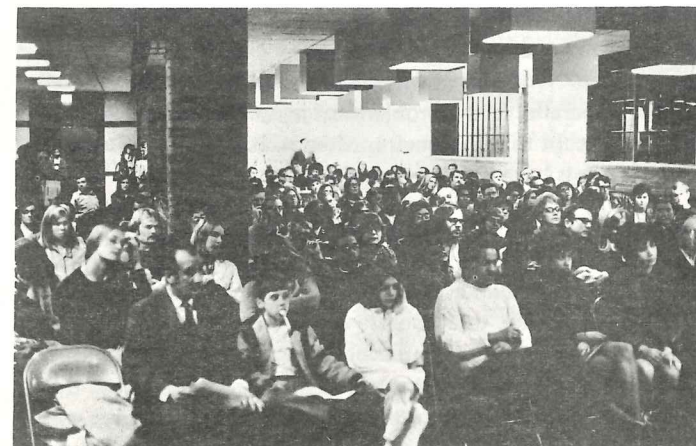
The details of the jury verdict are not in yet, but reports have it that the jury came up and shook the hands of the defendants after the trial. In any case, it is gratifying to hear that seven of our movement brothers have been freed. It is also good to know, at a time when the government is crying conspiracy at all sorts of things (see *Presidio*, page 13), that nine jurors in Oakland said, "Uncle Sam, it just ain't so."



The AIM Mobile Theater shows how the Corporations and their flunkies (including the Redevelopment Agency) destroyed the old Legion Avenue neighborhood area.



Dave Dickson demonstrates the absurdity of the Route 34 plan.



About 400 people assemble at Troup School for the Anti-Route 34 rally.



At an outdoor rally, a tree is planted and a sign demanding housing is placed in the proposed Route 34 path.

In New Haven 1969, air pollution is already a big problem, with automobiles accounting for over 60% of the pollutants released—things like bits of rubber from tires, asbestos from brake linings, unburnt oil and gas, nitrous oxide, carbon monoxide and lead.

In New Haven 1979, if the State Highway department and the city government implement Route 34 and all the plans they want to force on the residents of the city, air pollution is going to get a lot worse. The following prediction of how it might be to live in New Haven in 1979 is based on present highway plans and on observations made in New Haven, and other cities throughout the heavily industrialized areas of the world.

POLLUTION -- Highways Will Make Us Sick

by Tony Dominski

New Haven, July 4, 1979 (Special to the AIM Newsletter)

Today is the third day of the pollution emergency in New Haven. A stagnant Bermuda high weather system has been lying just off the coast bringing thermal inversion conditions, favorable to smog formation. For almost a week pollutants generated by industries such as UI and Olin Mathison and by thousands and thousands of cars, have been trapped in the lower atmosphere forming a murky blue-gray tent over the whole city.

With each new highway—I-91, Route 34, Ring Road (outer and inner), East Rock Connector—the blue-gray tents over the city have been getting thicker and thicker, and atmospheric crises more frequent. Today meteorologists estimate that the smog is blocking over half the sunlight shining above the smog. People now have to turn lights on at 6 p.m. instead of 8 p.m.

But higher electricity bills are the least of the problems brought by the ribbons of highways and the blue-gray tents. Almost everybody you meet is complaining of headaches, nausea and a general tired, listless feeling. The City Health Department has been recommending that people with asthma, bronchitis or other respiratory diseases get out of town until the emergency is over. (There is a joke going around the city that the health department recommends the use of canaries as pollution indicators for people living near highways. When the canary starts to wobble on its perch it is time to get the canary [and yourself] out of town. After all, New Haven residents should have at least as much protection as miners.)

Over the past few years, the incidence of asthma, bronchi-



tis, emphysema, and lung cancer has risen dramatically. According to spokesmen of the local hospitals, a new center for diagnosing and treating respiratory ailments is being planned, in response to heavy demands made on present medical facilities.

Ironically, polluted air causes both exhaustion and fitful sleep that robs people of the rest they need to function properly. And now that highways go through all the residential neighborhoods, the nights are always noisy. People are trying to get accustomed to a constant roar day and night. It's always a question of whether or not to open windows at night. An open window allows more air to circulate, but makes it almost too noisy to sleep. With closed windows it is sweltering hot. There is a striking parallel to the problems of people living near the Mill River except that the smell is often so bad that the Fair Haven residents have no choice but to close.

Along Route 34, the 16-lane highway designed "to keep cars off the streets", as along the other highways, summer temperatures are higher than ever before—up to 10-15 degrees higher. With no grass or trees to evaporate water and cool the air, the air above the highways often reaches temperatures well in excess of 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Heat stored in concrete roadways by day is radiated into the atmosphere after the sun goes down and keeps the air hot at night.

The neighborhoods in the vicinity of Route 34 and the other

highways are wearing an oily coat of soot. Pollutants have caused paint on homes to peel and crack and potentially pleasant neighborhoods have "that blighted look." The filthy air soils curtains and spreads staining residues on furniture, floors and windows.

Clothes now have to be cleaned more frequently and hair has to be shampooed more often. Each family has to spend hundreds

AIR POLLUTION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

The link between air pollution and disease is supported by the same sorts of evidence linking smoking and lung cancer:

- 1) Air pollutants have been found to produce diseases in animals.
- 2) Physiological changes (especially chronic respiratory diseases) have been observed in human beings exposed to various concentrations of pollutants such as carbon-monoxide and sulfur dioxide.
- 3) Correlations have been made between concentrations of air pollutants and death and disease rates.

There are a growing number of studies linking air pollution with bad health and excess deaths. For example, Dr. Leonard Greenberg of Albert Einstein Medical College in New York studied incidence of lung cancer in Staten Island. He compared death rates on the northern shore, directly in line with fumes billowing out of smokestacks in the refining complex of eastern New Jersey, with the rates on the relatively unpolluted south shore. The death rate from lung cancer among men living on the north shore is 55 per 100,000. On the south shore it is just 40 per 100,000. The difference among women is even more striking; their lung cancer death rate is twice as high in the more polluted area.

As our country becomes more and more polluted the number of persons suffering from respiratory diseases is growing at an alarming rate. The number of deaths due to bronchitis and emphysema (a disease in which lung tissue is progressively destroyed) has been doubling every five years. Lung cancer is also increasing its toll rapidly; it now takes 50,000 lives a year. Other respiratory diseases show similar patterns.

"In one year (1963) 80,000 deaths were caused either directly or indirectly by chronic chest diseases," says the Na-

tional Tuberculosis Association Public Health Service Task Force on Chronic Bronchitis and Emphysema. "However, most authorities feel that these figures represent only the visible part of the iceberg. Because of variations in diagnosis, many deaths caused by chronic respiratory diseases are indirectly attributed to 'heart failure' and a host of other terms."

Is it just coincidence that people feel tired and headachy in New Haven's rush hour when thousands of automobiles fill the streets?

The Cost of Pollution in Dollars and Cents

Air pollution not only sends people to hospitals, and contributes to early death, but it costs people hard cash. A study conducted in 1960 in the upper Ohio Valley, where several cities have high air pollution levels, analyzed such expenses as maintenance of walls and windows in homes, curtains and drapes, upholstery, laundry bills and even hair care. Taking into account these figures and the prevailing levels of air pollutants, as well as other data, the investigators calculated that the added cost of living per person in a heavily polluted area can be over \$200 per year—about \$800 for a typical family. According to the most recent survey by the U.S. Public Health Service National Center for Air Pollution Control, New Haven ranks 38th out of the nation's 65 largest urban areas, where air pollution is the worst. From these facts we can readily believe the calculated \$600 per family cost of air pollution in Connecticut is a reasonable estimate.

Virtually every kind of property is attacked by polluted air. The facades of public buildings have to be cleaned or replaced more frequently. Paint on private dwellings is blackened and cracked. Fabrics and leather wear out sooner. Metals can corrode 10 to 25 times sooner. This helps clothing, paint and detergent manufacturers at the expense of people.

One of the greatest social costs is the

of dollars per year in extra cleaning bills and house maintenance costs as a result of air pollution.

Now the only way for people to escape the pollution in heat is to take an extensive vacation in the country. The people who can afford it send their children to camp and drive in their cars to the country. The people who cannot afford these "luxuries" just stay in the city and suffer.

extra labor spent cleaning—washing windows and floors, doing extra laundries.

This time could well be spent on more satisfying endeavors.

The Highwaymen and their Computers

The disaster of Route 34 may be clear to everybody in 1979—housing shortages, poorer health, greater cleaning and maintenance costs, noisier streets, hotter summers.

What are the highwaymen in the State Highway Department and in the City Traffic Authority feeding into their computers, to get such destructive plans in the readout.

One class of data we can be sure was NOT considered was data on potential pollution, noise, and thermal properties of highways and their effects on health including physical, as well as psychological well being. In contrast, note the conclusion of the most recent status report on Air Pollution in New Haven (June, 1968) prepared by Edward R. DeLouise of the Bureau of Environmental Health, in New Haven which reads: *Air pollution in New Haven is a metropolitan problem and should be made an integral part of metropolitan planning and zoning. City planners must concern themselves with the ever-increasing problems of air pollution. The planning agencies cannot work alone on this problem, but in a cooperative effort with the other agencies concerned—redevelopment, health, building, zoning, traffic and parking.*

Everyone, everywhere is entitled to breathe clean air.

Evidently, the state and city highway departments are working at cross purposes with the people to whom we entrust our public health.

What then do the highwaymen consider good computer food? Since they justify Route 34 as a way to facilitate traffic

continued on back page

Taxes: Squeezing People To Support Corporations

by John Mendeloff

Connecticut's biennial taxpayer revolt has begun again. Every two years the governor submits vastly higher budgets and new tax plans to pay for them. Letters like the following then flood the newspapers:

How much longer will the middle class citizens of this state and the country tolerate the grossly unfair and backbreaking increases in taxes? In my opinion, it is a sad state of affairs when a man who works at two jobs in order to provide the basic necessities for his family is left with so little of his weekly earnings after taxes.

The time has come for public officials to face the hard, cold facts, that unless more stringent rules are set down for the Department of Welfare, it will run rampant with our tax money. The average hard working citizen has no obligation to people who use any excuse to sit back and collect welfare rather than earn an honest day's pay.

Mindful of such constituents as this, the legislators strive to slice the "fat" off the governor's budget. "Fat" is what poor people need and better off people do not want to pay for.

The state and local tax structure is such that the costs of providing better public services and of helping the poor fall heavily on the lower and middle income groups. Because it is one of AIM's goals to develop a movement for radical change among the poor and working class, people who shoulder the tax burden, it is important that we understand the assumptions and effects of Connecticut's tax structure.

The State's Share

In our federal system, state and city governments must react first and most directly to the growing problems of this industrial society. Consequently, their budgets have expanded much faster than the federal government's. Federal civilian expenditures rose from \$18 billion in 1948 to \$28 billion in 1962., during the

same period all combined state and local expenses nationally climbed from \$21 billion to \$47 billion.

Governor Dempsey's 1967-1969 budget was \$1.7 billion; this year's is \$2.7 billion. Of this new sum, \$570 million will come from bonded borrowing and will go to capital projects and highways. Setting aside another \$250 million for the Highway Fund, we are left with the controversial \$1.7 billion General Fund: this will go for education (39%), welfare (25%) criminal and judicial functions (7.4%), general government (5%), debt service on past bonds (5.4%), something intriguingly labeled "non-functional" (5%), and a few other items.

This article will focus on revenues rather than expenditures. But in passing, it is interesting to note the **New Haven Register's** treatment of the issue of expenditures. One headline read "City Area Will Benefit in Highway Allocations;" a second was "Welfare Will Take 25 Cents From Each State Dollar." The article on welfare budget noted that the proposed sum "represents a reduction of only about \$13 million in what Welfare Commissioner Bernard Shapiro had asked in his staggering budget request." The fact that almost half the welfare money will come from the federal government was minimized.

Regressive Taxes

State and local taxes are generally regressive. A study based on 1958 incomes shows what percentage of their income different groups paid in state and local taxes:

INCOME GROUP	% OF INCOME PD. IN LOCAL TAXES
\$0-2,000	14.5
2,000-4,000	11.6
4,000-6,000	10.5
6,000-8,000	9.3
8,000-10,000	8.5
10,000-15,000	7.4
15,000 and above	5.9

Connecticut's taxes are particularly regressive because of the state's dispro-

portionate reliance on the sales tax. Dempsey's new taxes will not improve the situation: reliance on the sales tax will increase, as the following table shows:

MAJOR TAXES	GENERAL FUND (IN MILLIONS OF \$)	
	1967-69	1969-71
Sales and Use	332	921
Corporation	169	233
Unincorporated Bus.	7	33
Inheritance & Estate	82	97
Alcohol	37	50
Cigarettes	65	82
Investment tax on Dividends, Interest, & Capital Gains	0 (new)	37
Insurance Comps, Domestic	23	53
Insurance Comps, Out of State	22	25

Local taxes in Connecticut are disproportionately based on property; and property taxes are also regressive in their effect. Connecticut towns' reliance on property taxes is over fifty percent greater than the national average.

Why Not Progressive?

Before examining the events which followed Dempsey's announcement of the tax program, we should ask why he continues to propose regressive taxes. Why are progressive taxes, particularly a graduated income tax, not used instead?

With respect to the income tax, Dempsey believes that:

...a state personal income tax would destroy one of Connecticut's greatest incentives for industrial expansion and economic growth.

The absence of a state income tax has been an important factor in the decisions made during recent years by a number of major industrial firms to establish facilities in Connecticut, and by others to expand facilities already in operation here.

There is no specific dollars and cents figure to show what this has meant to the state as a whole and to communities within the state, but these factors must be considered:

More jobs bring more people into the state, creating a larger market for our mercantile and service establishments. Building contractors and mill suppliers are favorably affected. The state's revenue from the corporation, sales, and unincorporated business taxes is considerably increased.

Dempsey's belief that the state's well-being depends on its attractiveness to business is shared by almost all politicians (and taxpayers); it is the cornerstone of all government policy. This belief is true to the facts of life in a capitalist society.

Prosperity does depend on the actions of our corporation chiefs. Politicians, who are the people held accountable for the absence of prosperity, must cooperate with the corporation chiefs and avoid anything that might jeopardize the business climate.

Personal Interest

It is clear, therefore, why politicians and corporation leaders oppose expanded corporation taxes and why their opposition is effective. It is not so evident why Dempsey considers *personal* income tax discouraging to business. The reason, I think, is simply that business leaders, as an upper income group living in the state do not wish to pay the taxes. Business leaders not only view the interests of the state in terms of the interests of their corporations, but they also view the interests of their corporations in terms of their personal interests.

Not surprisingly, then, the proposed tax on interest, dividends and capital gains (*i.e.* on rich people) was the first to be scuttled. Papers also reported that a drastic downward revision of the proposed 2% tax on real estate transactions is expected.

Liberals Respond

The liberal response to Dempsey's proposals came in the form of an income tax proposal which would raise \$500 million to supplement the existing sales tax. A group of Democratic representatives led by Mary Griswold of New Haven backed the proposal. Behind them were the Caucus of Concerned Democrats, the Connecticut Education Association, and some Hartford city councilmen. Later,

they picked up the support of New Haven Democratic Town Chairman Arthur Barbieri, the only major city political leader to take that stand. Against them stood the Governor and the entire Democratic and Republican legislative leadership.

Part of the liberal strategy was to deny the economic effects that Dempsey feared would follow an income tax. Yale professor James Tobin argued that corporations care more about the presence of a high level of services than they do about the absence of an income tax. The Connecticut Manufacturers' Association, however, echoed Dempsey's statement.

The state labor movement was reluctant to accept the liberals' position. The State Labor Council of the AF of L-CIO announced that it would support an income tax only if the sales tax were totally eliminated. John Driscoll, its president, proposed a 2% payroll tax to be paid by employers. In addition, he called for the inclusion of security holdings in the property tax rolls of localities in order to bolster their tax revenues and reduce the pressure for state aid.

Why didn't the liberals accept the labor position and propose total replacement of the sales tax? In a paper submitted last summer to the state Democratic party platform committee by the McCarthy organization, Yale professor John Wilson, who also testified for the income tax this year, provided part of the answer: *Given taxpayer acceptance, relatively low compliance and collection costs, and the substantial reduction in its regressivity through the exemption of certain necessities, the sales tax should remain an important part of the total fiscal program. Yet the issue is not whether the tax should be eliminated—it is probably the best existing tax in Connecticut—but whether it should be solely relied upon to supply future revenue.*

Weak Reforms

The sales tax plus income tax combination would be less regressive than the Governor's plan. Briefly, the income tax would use the adjusted gross income of the federal tax as its base but include all capital gains. Each of the first two dependents is a \$2,000 deduction; each of the next two, a \$1,000 deduction. Thus

a family of four with an income below \$6,000 would pay no tax. Higher incomes would be taxed only on the amount above \$6,000: those between \$6,000 and \$16,000 at 3½%; between \$16,000 and \$21,000 at 4½%; between \$21,000 and \$26,000 at 5½%; incomes above \$26,000 would be taxed at the maximum rate of 6½%.

The question is whether working class and lower middle class citizens—still pressed by federal, sales, property, and other taxes—will consider the liberals' plan to have made any significant changes. Will they be any less likely to oppose new welfare or education expenditures? I think the labor movement's reluctance to support the combination tax reflects their feeling that workers would not respond favorably to either tax program and that a more far-reaching change would be necessary to win their support.

The average yearly earnings of a Connecticut worker in manufacturing are \$6875. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' "modest, but adequate" budget figure for an urban family of four averages around \$10,000 for this state. If taxes were fair, little, if any, of the burden would fall on families with incomes below that figure. Higher incomes, of course, would be taxed more. The tax would be steeply progressive.

Solutions?

Most important of all, the corporations' ability to avoid taxes must be destroyed. It is clear that no single state can carry out a significant redistribution of income. Solutions are possible only at the national level.

But corporations easily pass on the incidence of federal taxes. When taxed more heavily, they raise their prices to maintain their profit margins. Strict government price controls would be necessary to keep corporations from shifting taxes to the consumer. In effect, the government would force companies to have lower profits.

Corporations, however, would complain and threaten that lower profit rates would discourage new investment and, consequently, inhibit economic growth. As

long as the economy is based on private investment for profit, their argument is valid. An equitable tax system would require public control of the economy.

To turn back to Connecticut, the situation is this: both political parties believe that the best way to serve the people is to serve business interests. Organized labor is so wedded to the Democratic

Party that the Party can afford to ignore labor's position with impunity; Party leaders feel sure labor will not try to mobilize the rank and file against them. Liberals have decided to push for a partial redressing of the state's regressive taxes.

The problem with both the liberal and labor programs is not only that they place too heavy a burden on the under \$10,000 group, but also that they fail to point the

way to the battles which must be fought to create a more just society. They are not progressive enough to win the allegiance of lower income groups and they fail to educate people about the real, long-run solutions. Finally, neither group will provide the aggressive, independent leadership which will be necessary to attain those solutions.

Children's School Sit-in

by Leslie Cook

On Wednesday night the 12th of March the older kids of the Children's School organized a sit-in. It took place the following Thursday.

The reasons were as follows: all the children had a private meeting without teachers and we made up a list of rules. There are too many to write down but an example of one of them was having everyone eat at the same time. The teachers said they would be followed but some weren't. Teachers go out to lunch at various times contradictory to the rules. The older kids were protesting this.

We asked the younger kids to join us which they did though I'm not sure if they knew WHY they were protesting.

There was a grand burning of the rules that had been posted on the wall. We figured if they weren't followed they might as well not be there.

I'm not sure if we gained anything, but then again we might have. Anyone who wants to contribute to the school will be welcome to and will it be appreciated, I can tell you.



OUR
LIVES
ARE STRUNG
LIKE MORNING
GLORIES ONTO POLES
FALSELY TRAINING US THAT
UPWARD & APART (BECAUSE WHO
WANTS TO BE DOWN OR CARRY MORE
THAN NEAREST KIN) IS THE SLIPPROOF
TURN FROM EVERY SINGLE STARTING POINT
SO OUR VERY MOTION WILL DIVIDE US SISTER
BROTHERHOOD FALLING IN EACH OTHER'S SHADOWS
WHERE WE WIND SIDEBYRUGGEDSIDE RIVALING TOWARD
A FEW MORE RAYS OF SUN AND GROWING WEAK AS STRAW
SPUN INTO GOLD BY ADEPT ROCKE MELLON RUMPLESTILTSKINS
LOCKING THE RICHES OF OUR LABOR IN THEIR IMPOSTER CLAIM
TO THE AMERICAN WAY WHILE WE ARE MIRAGED BY POOLS OF COMPETITION
OUR SUNLIGHT POURED THROUGH FUNNELS COVERED WITH FAKE STARS AND
STRIPES SEALING OFF OUR HISTORY IN PYRAMIDS FITTED TO THEIR GRASP
BUT AT BOTTOM OUR ROOTS CLING UNDER THE WAIT OF OUR UNCOLLECTED POWER

-ELIZABETH ROSE

THE WORKING CLASS and AMERICAN CAPITALISM

by Irv Plimpton

The main purpose of this article is to provide information about some conditions of the American working class today. A secondary purpose is to suggest what this information can tell us about American capitalism today.

Table I shows the numbers (in millions) of employees on payrolls in December, 1968, according to their occupations:

Table I
Occupational Breakdown

Occupation	Number in millions	Totals
White Collar		36.6
Professional, technical	10.8	
Managers, officials and proprietors	7.8	
Clerical workers	13.0	
Sales Workers	5.0	
Blue Collar		27.7
Craftsmen, foremen	10.2	
Operatives	14.1	
Nonfarm laborers	3.4	
Service workers		9.5
Waiters, cooks, barmen	2.1	
Others	7.4	
Farm workers		2.9
Farmers and farm managers	1.8	
Farm laborers and foremen	1.1	

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics
Employment and Earnings,
Washington, January, 1969

Table II shows the history of the earnings and spendable income of all persons on payrolls in the 1960's. "Spendable earnings" are what remain from gross earnings after deducting income and property taxes. Other taxes (sales, excise, etc.) are part of the prices of commodities; increases in such taxes appear as increases in prices. The column under "1957-1959 prices" takes increases in these taxes into account. This column measures *real income*, which fell from 1965 to 1967. In other words, due to increases in prices since 1957-1959, \$107 earned in 1968 only purchases \$78 worth of goods. Thus, although between 1960 and 1968, weekly spendable income

increased by about \$27, the amount of goods this money can buy increased by about \$8. One further note on Table II: it includes earnings from overtime work. Of course, any individual could hold more than one job and thus appear on more than one payroll. More than one person per household could work.

Table II
Average Income Growth

Year	Average Gross Weekly Earnings	Average Spendable Weekly Earnings: Workers With 3 Dependents	
		At Current Prices	At 1957-59 Prices
1960	\$80.67	72.96	70.77
1961	82.60	74.48	71.48
1962	85.91	76.99	73.05
1963	88.46	78.56	73.63
1964	91.33	82.57	76.38
1965	95.06	86.30	78.53
1966	98.82	88.66	78.39
1967	101.84	90.86	78.13
1968	107.73	95.28	78.81

Source: *Economic Report of the President*,
Washington, Jan., 1969

Therefore, Table III presents the incomes of American households for 1967 (Gross income *before taxes*):

Table III
Household Income

Household income	Number of Households (in millions)
Under \$1,000	2.8
\$ 1,000-1,999	4.8
2,000-2,999	4.3
3,000-3,999	4.1
4,000-4,999	4.0
5,000-5,999	4.6
6,000-6,999	4.7
7,000-7,999	4.8
8,000-9,999	8.2
10,000-14,900	11.7
15,000-and over	6.4
Total	60.5

Source: Bureau of the Census
Current Population Report
December 17, 1968

Another way to look at this information is the following:

19.7% earned under \$ 3,000
33.1% earned under \$ 5,000
50.0% earned under \$ 7,200
70.0% earned under \$10,000

BEFORE TAXES

The Bureau of Labor Statistics calculated in October, 1968, that a moderate income was \$10,135 for a typical family of four. Over two thirds of American households fell short.

The kinds of output produced by workers have changed steadily in recent decades. Table IV shows the changing percentages of employees on payrolls according to the kind of work performed:

Table IV
Types of Jobs (percentages)

Year	Producing Goods	Trade & Services	Finance, Insur. & R. Estate	Govt.	Total
1947	51.6	31.9	4.0	12.5	100
1957	47.6	33.4	4.7	14.4	100
1967	41.6	35.9	4.9	17.6	100
1968	41.1	36.1	4.9	17.9	100

Source: *Manpower Report of the President*, Washington, April, 1968; Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, Washington, January, 1969.
(All figures exclude farmworkers)

Table IV confirms the idea that in the United States more and more of its workers' time and energy are devoted to work other than the production of goods. This fact would appear more sharply in the last five years except for the production of military hardware caused by Vietnam.

One basic cause of this shift away from goods lies in the distribution of income. The minority of the wealthy have so large a share of the income that their wishes have an especially large influence on what gets produced. They have the dollars to back up their wishes which the poor lack. The wishes of the rich have exhausted goods and are increasingly fixed on elaborate services to support their extravagant life styles. Thus, while many Americans—the clear majority—have needs and wishes for more goods, the distribution of income shifts workers from goods to services.

Nor does capitalism as a system permit this state of affairs to change. The rich with their privately owned capital have assured access to money, education and the commanding heights of the corporate structure. They are perfectly placed to make the maximum profits from the continuing shift from goods to services. The profits they make thus serve to maintain the very distribution of income which helps cause the shift.

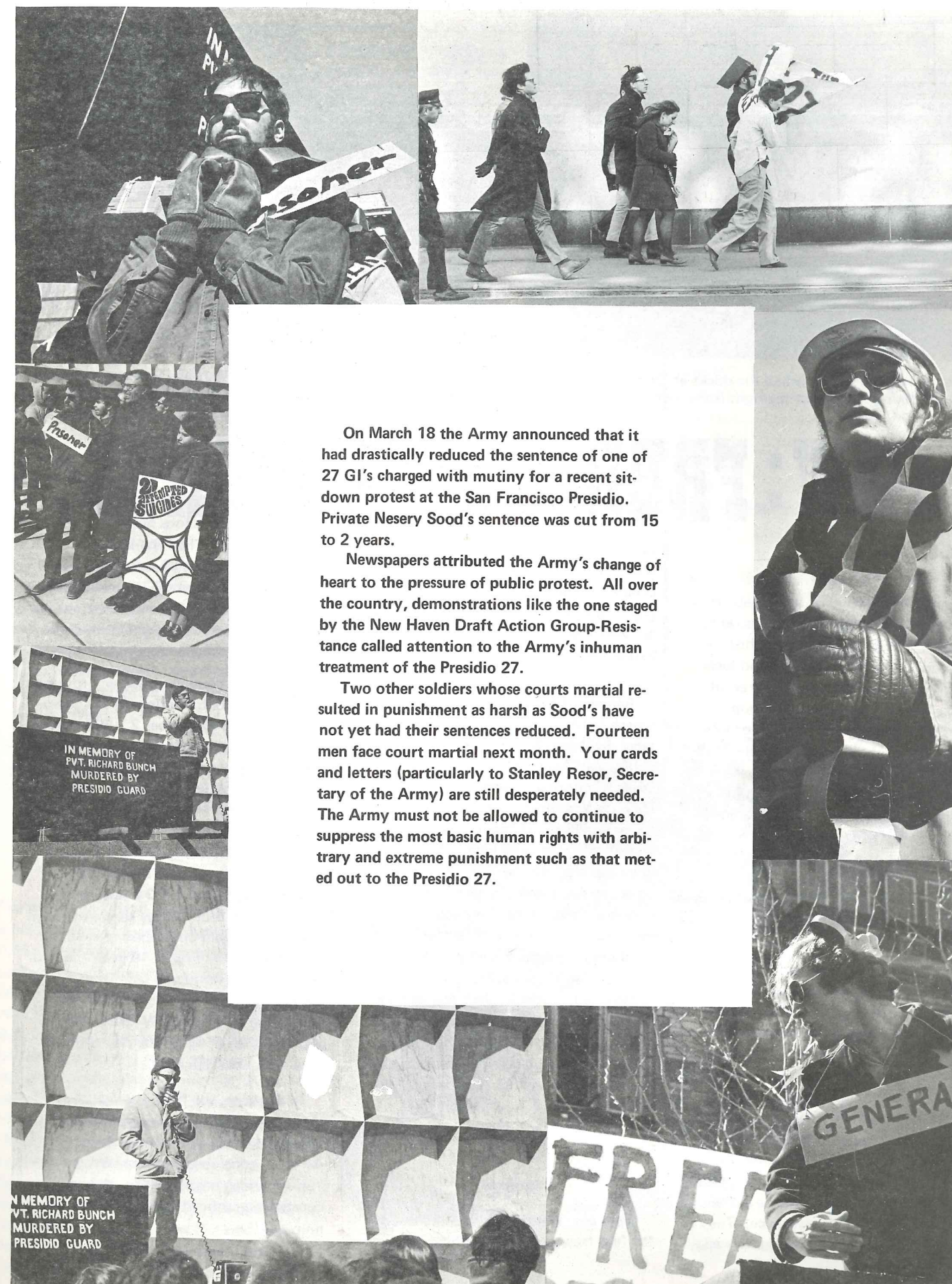
Capitalism is an economic system whose way of organizing production (with privately owned capital on one side and workers on the other) is indirectly also a way of organizing the distribution of income. Each aspect of capitalism reinforces the other. Capitalism is a system structured so as to be self-perpetuating. American capitalism will continue to deny goods, however needed, to American workers.

The low real wages and the falling real wages from 1965 to 1967 together point up the achilles heel of capitalism. Depressed wages have meant higher profits. Expecting these high profits, the private owners of capital put that capital to work—which means jobs. However, if private owners, capitalists, are dissatisfied with expected profits—if, for example, they expect higher wages which eat into their profits—they may choose to withhold their capital from production. That is, they may choose *not* to invest their capital.

When capitalists (or the executives they hire to manage the capital for them) decide to withhold their capital from production, they deprive workers of the opportunity to work with that capital. Workers get laid off and lose income. As a consequence, such workers cannot make purchases. Then, some other capitalist, who expected to sell to these workers, finds unsold items on his hands. Unsold products mean lower profits which mean that this capitalist too may decide to withhold his capital for a while. Here we have a spiral, self-reinforcing mechanism in which *private* decisions about the use of capital have *social* consequences, namely unemployment of men and machines or what economists call stagnation. Here we have an economic system where higher wages won by workers can lead directly to their being denied the employment necessary to produce those wages—an absurdity peculiar to capitalism.

When stagnation threatens, a traditional remedy of capitalism is to have the government intervene. The government's function is to maintain production and employment. The method is for the government to spend as much money as necessary to induce private owners of capital to put that capital to work. In most capitalist countries, government spends most on the military. Table IV suggests another way government spends: local, state and federal authorities are the fastest growing employers in the American economy over the last decades.

The government gets spending money from taxes and/or through loans made by capitalists in banks and large corporations. These private enterprises can and do pass on their taxes in the form of higher prices ultimately paid by consumers. Table II shows what happens to workers' incomes in the face of these higher taxes and prices. In essence, capitalism confronts workers with a choice between low wages or no wages.



On March 18 the Army announced that it had drastically reduced the sentence of one of 27 GI's charged with mutiny for a recent sit-down protest at the San Francisco Presidio. Private Nesery Sood's sentence was cut from 15 to 2 years.

Newspapers attributed the Army's change of heart to the pressure of public protest. All over the country, demonstrations like the one staged by the New Haven Draft Action Group-Resistance called attention to the Army's inhuman treatment of the Presidio 27.

Two other soldiers whose courts martial resulted in punishment as harsh as Sood's have not yet had their sentences reduced. Fourteen men face court martial next month. Your cards and letters (particularly to Stanley Resor, Secretary of the Army) are still desperately needed. The Army must not be allowed to continue to suppress the most basic human rights with arbitrary and extreme punishment such as that meted out to the Presidio 27.



When the Wobblies approached the docks at Everett, the Sheriff said "Who is your leader?" and they said "We're all leaders," and they kept on coming. Shown at the right is the memorial service held at Mt. Pleasant Cemetery for the Everett victims on May 1, 1917.



IWW: FREE SPEECH FIGHTS

by Bob Cook

Americans are fond of talking about their rights and freedoms like "freedom of speech." But throughout our history, the forces of the federal, state, and local governments have been used to prevent the exercise of these rights by groups which are considered unpatriotic or subversive, like abolitionists (before the Civil War) or labor unions (until they became docile). Our so-called rights exist, in fact, only because the people have constantly fought the vested interests of the ruling capitalist class and have won some partial victories. Some of the greatest of these fights were led by the IWW on the streets of America from 1907 to 1917.

Today, the American Civil Liberties Union is a familiar organization. But it was not in existence until 1920. Its predecessor, the National Civil Liberties Bureau, began only in 1917. And while the ACLU does much good work, its conception of free speech and its defense is fundamentally different than the IWW's. For the ACLU, freedom of speech is an abstract good. For the IWW, speaking on the streets was a basic organizing tool, and a challenge to that right was a challenge to the IWW's very existence. They called freedom of speech the right to edu-

cate the working class. The goal of the IWW was not free speech but One Big Union and "Abolition of the wage system." And the method of the IWW was not legal battles in the courts but people's battles on the streets.

Between 1907 and 1917, IWW free speech fights occurred in Missoula, Montana; Spokane, Washington; Fresno, California; Aberdeen, Washington; San Diego, California; Kansas City, Missouri; Everett, Washington; and numerous other towns and cities. These fights almost always took the same form. An IWW organizer would be arrested for speaking on the street, often in violation of a newly passed town ordinance against street meetings. The call would then go out to Wobblies across the country. They would converge on the town, attempt to speak, get arrested, crowd the jails and demand individual trials by jury. They organized in jail; on the outside, they worked to create massive publicity and in most cases they won back the right to speak on the streets.

Spokane

Spokane, Washington was the site of the first free speech fight which drew na-

tional attention. The IWW had been organizing in Spokane, a center for migratory workers, around the issue of employment sharks who charged men for getting jobs that turned out not to exist. Under pressure from these employment "agen-

cies," the city council passed an ordinance prohibiting public meetings in the downtown area. On November 2, 1909, James P. Thompson, IWW organizer, was arrested for street-corner speaking. Within a day 150 more wobblies were in jail. The call went out: "Big free speech fight in Spokane; come yourself and bring the boys with you." The battle lasted five months. At one point there were almost 600 Wobblies in jail and 1200 arrests on the books. Some took 30 day sentences, then got arrested again upon their release. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 19 years old and pregnant, was thrown in jail. Despite brutal treatment of the prisoners, the spirit and solidarity of the IWW never wavered and on March 5, 1910, the city officials gave in to IWW demands.

In Spokane, the IWW was fighting in the interests of the working class. But organized labor, in the form of the AF of L, concluded that the IWW was an "un-American organization... defying the constituted authority of the various communities."

San Diego

In San Diego, hysteria following the dynamiting of the *Los Angeles Times* led to a ban on street speaking in January, 1912. The IWW responded as usual, but the authorities responded this time with brutal repression. Attempted meetings were broken up with fire hoses and clubs. Over 5000 were arrested. Vigilante groups were formed to greet incoming Wobblies:

"The first thing on the program was to kiss the flag. 'You son of a bitch, Come on kiss it, God damn you.' As he said it I was hit with a wagon spoke all over, when you had kissed the flag you were told to run the gauntlet. 50 men being on each side and each man being armed with a gun and a club and some had long whips. When I started to run the gauntlet the men were ready for action, they were in high spirits from booze. I got about 30 feet when I was suddenly struck across the knee. I felt the wagon spoke sink in splitting my knee. I reeled over. As I was lying there I saw other fellow workers running the gauntlet. Some were bleeding freely from cracked heads, others were knocked down to be made to get up to run again. Some tried to break the line only to be beaten back. It was the most cowardly and inhuman cracking of heads I ever witnessed."

Meetings on the streets of San Diego were not really resumed until the summer of 1914.

Everett

The tragic conclusion of the free speech fights occurred in Everett, Washington in 1916. The IWW had been organizing among lumber workers, and their activities in Everett ran into considerable opposition from the local police. On August 22, the same James P. Thompson was arrested for leading a Wobbly street meeting. In September and October, a reign of terror against the IWW followed. The call went out again, and on Sunday, November 5, a large contingent of Wobblies approached the Everett dock on the Passenger boat Verano, sailing from Seattle. From the docks, the sheriff and his deputies opened fire on the Verano. At least five Wobblies were killed, and over 30 wounded. But they fought back and killed two vigilantes,

wounding 19. For defending themselves, 74 IWW's were arrested and charged with murder. The sheriff and deputies were not charged.

The trial of the Wobblies began in March, 1917, with Tom Tracy the first defendant. A massive defense campaign was launched; Tracy was acquitted, and the other 73 defendants were released. Again, the spirit and solidarity of the IWW won, and the drive for organizing the lumber workers gained new momentum.

As they came up the river at Everett, the Wobblies were singing "Hold the Fort":

*We meet today in freedom's cause
And raise our voices high
We'll join our hands in union strong
To battle or to die.
Hold the fort for we are coming
Union men, be strong
Side by side we battle onward
Victory will come.*

Note:

Sources include Joyce Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices* and Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Vol IV*. *Rebel Voices* is available in paperback for \$4.95 from the IWW, 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 60614.

IS IT ABOUT TO STRIKE?



Industrial Worker, October 1, 1910.

Cover.....	Newsletter Staff
Page 2.....	Dave Dickson
Page 4	
right.....	Henry Stone
left.....	Dave Dickson
Page 5	
right.....	John Bancroft
left.....	Dave Dickson
Page 6.....	John Basso
Page 10	
photo.....	Diane Dexter
poem lettering.....	Bill Crawford
Page 13.....	Jim Pepler and Dave Tobis
Page 14-15.....	Rebel Voices
Page 17.....	David Kaetz
Page 18.....	Architect's Resis- tance

militant convicted

On February 21, Ken Kinsler was sentenced to one and a half to five years in State Prison for carrying a loaded gun in his car. Kinsler was an effective and hard working HPA member, and his loss is a blow to the movement here in New Haven.

The prosecution claimed that an informant had told members of the Intelligence Squad that a man was in a local restaurant threatening violence, and further that he was driving a yellow compact in which there was a loaded gun. Members of the intelligence squad testified that they then drove to the scene, spotted the car and parked across the street, keeping the yellow car under surveillance. Soon a man left the restaurant and drove off in the car. The squad car followed, stopped the yellow car, and found Kinsler with a loaded 22 rifle on the front seat.

Kinsler's defense was that the police had no right to stop and search his car, that the gun wasn't loaded, and that the police had loaded it at the stationhouse.

Police Stories Conflict

On Kinsler's behalf, AIM attorney George Johnson brought out, on cross-examination, several inconsistencies in the police story and argued that the inconsistencies were so great that they went beyond mere lapses of memory and indicated that the story was not remembered by the police, but fabricated. Three policemen testified. Each contradicted the others, and one got lost in his own story.

The main witness contended that after receiving the information by phone, they went to the scene, parked across the street at the restaurant's back door to observe the yellow car, and waited for about five minutes before the driver exited. Confronted with testimony from an earlier hearing on the case in which he stated that they had waited about 15 minutes, he changed his mind about the length of time. Attorney Johnson later argued to the jury

that, assuming the police actually did get their information as they claimed, you also have to assume that three trained police officers, who knew that a dangerous suspect was inside the bar with a gun in his car outside, waited for 15 minutes until this dangerous suspect came out to the car (and the gun) without once entering the bar themselves or even checking the car to see whether the gun was actually there.

Kinsler testified that the gun was indeed in the car, but that it wasn't loaded. He said he was taking it to his home from where it had been stored in the HPA office. He pointed out that during the weeks just prior to the arrests, several threats had been made to the HPA and its members by white "toughs" who were upset by the HPA actions in support of black residents of Columbus Mall in Wooster Square. Because of the threats, a decision had been made by HPA to keep some unloaded guns at the HPA office to scare off any potential attackers. Earlier on the day of arrest, Kinsler had received a threat on his life, and, worried, transferred the unloaded gun from the HPA office to his home. On the way home, he was arrested.

Unsympathetic Jury

At bottom, the jury had to choose between Kinsler and the police: to win his freedom, he had to persuade the jury that the police were not telling the truth. A glance at Kinsler's jury shows what he was up against. His counsel had to pick a 12 member jury from a panel of 30.

The 30 were all white, heavily suburban, age 40 or over, and of the 30, 18 were women. Johnson exercised all his challenges, questioning each potential juror, but it was hardly a group from whom a black militant could expect a sympathetic hearing. One sympathetic juror did appear, the wife of a Professor in the Divinity School who admitted that if she were chosen to sit on the jury, she would think long and hard before voting to convict, because "the consequences to the man

on trial were so severe". Upon hearing this, the prosecution immediately dismissed her (using one of his allowable arbitrary challenges) and called for another juror. During the choosing of the jury, a black Deputy Sheriff said privately that in six months, he'd only seen two blacks appear for jury duty.

The jury was out a little more than two hours, pondering Kinsler's fate, before convicting him. Immediately after conviction, the State's Attorney requested that his bond be set at \$25,000 pending appeal, an increase of exactly \$24,800. After argument, Johnson persuaded the judge to set bond in the amount of \$10,000. This proved impossible to raise, and at sentence, incredibly, the State argued for and got a \$5,000 increase in the bond amount.

Bond Needed

Pending appeal, Kinsler is in the State Prison for lack of bail. The required premium on the bond was raised by the HPA and by AIM, but as yet, no one has been found with property to put up in the amount of the bond. Anyone who can help should contact the AIM office.

Ironically, shortly after his sentence, the local papers carried the news of the release of the Douglas report, which contains a finding by a Federal commission that the housing shortage caused by Mayor Lee's urban renewal program was the major cause of the 1967 New Haven riot.

The commission held hearings in New Haven some time ago and cited testimony by local figures to support its conclusions. One name mentioned was Fred Harris. The other was Ken Kinsler.



"the streets belong to the people,
not the people to the streets."
Lao Tse-Tung

Model City Blues

Words + music by David Kaety
© copyright 1969

briskly, con smoggo C

i love new ha- ven and i love to watch when the build-ings go up and i

watch when the peo-ple go down and i love the way they case me they tag my car and chase me

beat my head and mace me and i love the way they treat me in new na- ven

CHORUS: (spritely and grandiose and very magnificent) (ma non troppo!)

i love the cross-es on the stee- ples and the boss-es on the peo- ples i love the

town and i Real es-pec-ially love all the ways that they got to put me down

1. i love new haven.

and i love to watch when the buildings go up
and i watch when the people go down.
and i love the way they case me;
they tag my car and chase me;
beat my head and mace me;
and i LOVE the way they treat me in new haven.
(CHORUS)

2. i love the yalies.

and i love the way that they get to do the things that
they bust all the rest of us for.
but that's the way it must be;
they call me names and cuss me;
tap my phone and bust me;
and i LOVE the way they treat me in new haven.
(CHORUS)

3. i love C.P.I.

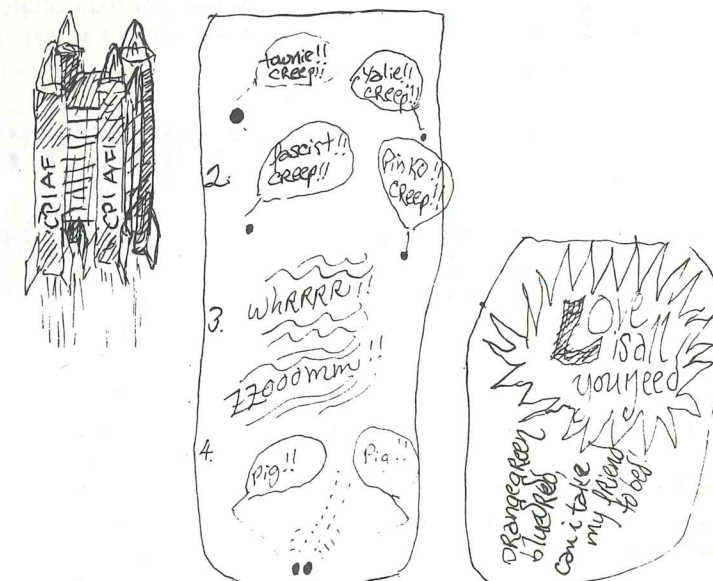
and i love to sit at my bureaucrat's desk and
i watch all the money go by. (buy)
and i love my model city;
and my Mayor richard cee lee;
but it really isn't pretty:
(in fact it's kind of shitty)
how they treat me in the citty of new haven.
(CHORUS)

4. i love the smog.

with a little more smoke it'll be no joke when
even a pig can't breath.
but what's the need for clean air?
the car's the going thing here!
and Cash, the only Green here...
and i LOVE the way they treat me in new haven.
(CHORUS)

CHORUS: i love the Crosses on the Steeples, and

the Bosses on the Peoples.
i love the Town. And I Real especially Love
all the Ways that they Got to Put me Down.



6. i love the highways.

and i love to watch when the Man puts sixteen
lanes right through my door.
and our anger hasn't let up;
—won't be long before we're fed up;
and the town will see us GET UP;
and we'll change the way they treat us in new haven.
(grande finale chorus)



The Architects' Resistance is an action group, communications network, a research organization, that will issue and mobilize behind future position papers on broad topics within the profession—racism within architecture, exploitive projects abroad, collaboration with the defense department, registration, award of commissions, mechanisms for open competitions, etc. and specific instances of the misuse of our professional skills.

We are members of the Architects' Resistance. We are here today to charge Skidmore, Owings and Merrill with racism and hypocrisy. On March 21, 1960 the government of South Africa opened fire



on a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, killing 67 people—one act in an endless series of atrocities committed against the black people of South Africa.

Today, March 21, 1969, Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, the most prestigious architectural firm in the United States, is building the 50 million dollar, 51 story concrete building, Carlton Center, in Johannesburg, in the heart of racist South Africa.

This project clearly demonstrates SOM's alliance for profit with an impressive list of corporations whose huge investments in South Africa are responsible for maintaining the oppressive apartheid system. This alliance had also brought over 20 million-dollar commissions to SOM's drawing boards. The Architects' Resistance believes that the profession of architecture has a responsibility greater than the pursuit of profit.

We are a group of architects, architecture students, planners and draftsmen who believe that architecture, like other professions, is not an end in itself but part of a political process, a process that should



grant all people the right to control their lives and be governed by human values, not material ones.

We are here today to demand that Skidmore, Owings and Merrill and Paul Weidlinger Assoc. (Engineers) immediately dissociate themselves from the Carlton project and remit all profits accrued there to black organizations in South Africa. We also demand that the American Institute of Architects publicly censor SOM and any other firms building in South Africa and that they immediately drop these firms from membership if they refuse to halt their operations in South Africa.

people's almanac

April 3, 1964—Southern Whites held the founding conference of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) in Nashville, Tenn.

April 6, 1968—Black Panther, Bobby Hutton was murdered by Oakland Pigs.

April 6, 1793—Committee of Public Safety was established in Paris in attempt to salvage the French Revolution.

April 8, 1967—Rebellion of black students began at Fisk University and Tennessee State University in Nashville.

April 8, 1947—Jackie Robinson played his first game for the Brooklyn Dodgers, thereby "integrating" major league baseball.

April 8, 1956—C. Wright Mills' *Power Elite* was published.

April 9, 1870—Nikolai Lenin was born.

April 11, 1865—Lincoln recommended suffrage for black veterans and for "other Negroes who are very intelligent."

April 12, 1846—After Mexico refused to sell "New Mexico", U.S. President Polk sent troops to the area.

April 12, 1937—The first of the great anti-war student strikes took place around the country.

April 13, 1873—The Colfax Massacre; over 60 blacks were killed by whites on Easter Sunday when newly elected

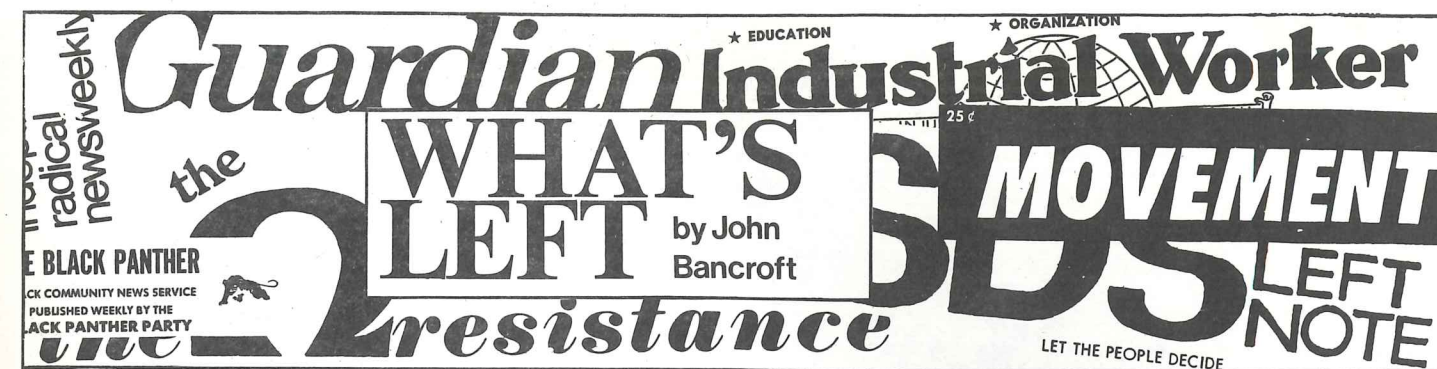
blacks attempted to assume their parish district offices in Grant Parish, Louisiana.

April 14, 1775—First abolition of slavery society was organized in Philadelphia.

April 14, 1966—For the first time, U.S. weekly casualties in Vietnam exceeded those of the South Vietnamese army.

April 15, 1960—Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as organized at Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

April 17, 1961—Bay of Pigs invaded by CIA trained and led mercenaries; the Cubans destroyed the invasion forces in 72 hours.



THE OLD MOLE is published in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is put out by people from Harvard, SDSers, and other radicals in the Boston area. It hopes to become a movement paper for the whole New England area. In a recent issue, there is detailed coverage of the "tax revolts" and what they mean. It also has reviews, coverage of student struggles, and corporate analysis. It is all presented quite attractively. Subscriptions are \$1.50, from 2 Brookline Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

DAILY WORLD published daily in New York. It is the successor to the *Daily Worker*, the newspaper of the Communist Party. It covers most world and national events from a left point of view. It also covers movement news, comics, and a sports section. Subscriptions are \$15 a year, \$5 for students, from P.O. Box

544, Chelsea Stations, NY 10011.

WIN is published twice a month in New York by the War Resister's League. Its own words describe it best: "WIN is joy, affirmation, chaos, flowers to the enemy, terror to the old left, innovator to the New...but mostly WIN is about peace and freedom, and how to reach it, radical pacifism and revolutionary non-violence, and what that means." A recent issue had an extensive article on the Garrison case, as well as reviews and comics. Subscriptions are \$5 a year, from 5 Beekman Street, Room 1033, NY, NY, 10038.

THE BLACK PANTHER (The Black Community News Service), put out by the Panthers. Much of this newspaper deals with the Panther's view of the third world and its revolutionary movements. In a

recent issue, for example, there was considerable coverage given to imperialism and attempts to fight it. There also was a critique of black capitalism and what it means in relation to continuing exploitation of black people. Subscriptions are \$7.50 a year, from the Ministry of Information, Black Panther Party, Box 2967, Customs House, San Francisco, Calif. 94126.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER, published monthly by the IWW in Chicago. It contains official statements of the Wobblies, reports of their meetings and organizing. It also contains analysis of labor struggles across the country. In one recent issue, for example, a discussion of the tobacco workers' stand on smoking is reported, along side a description of a recent Wobbly convention. Subscriptions are \$2 for 12 issues, from 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

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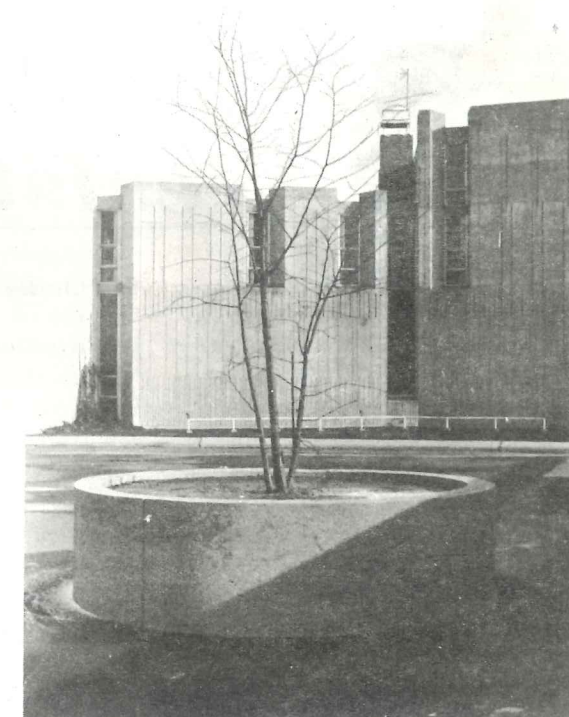
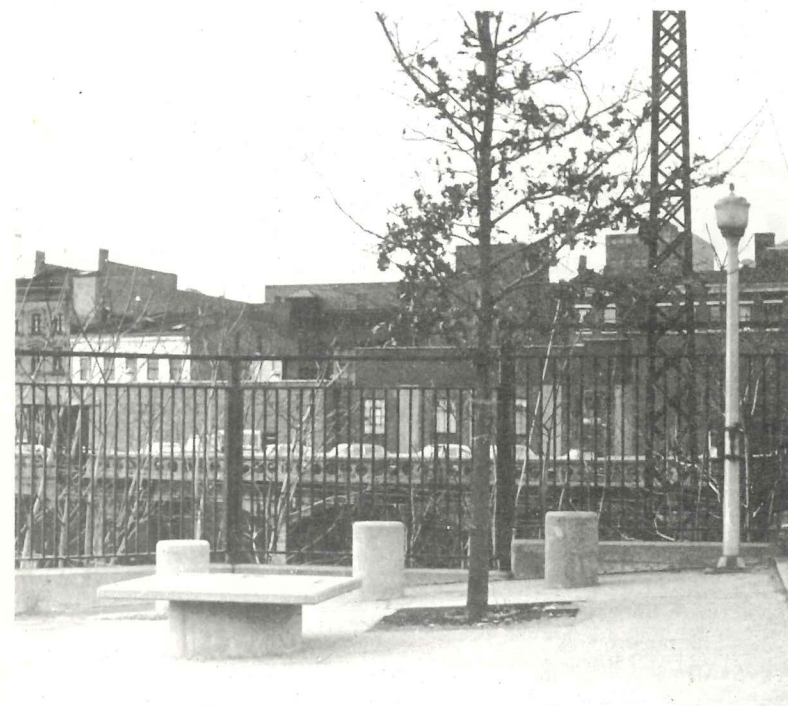
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WHAT WILL NEW HAVEN LOOK LIKE?



We referred several times in this issue to the cement-auto-steel-construction juggernaut and the threat it poses to people in New Haven. In case you don't believe it, take a look at what the 'new New Haven' will look like unless we act to change it. On the left, a 'park' on Chapel Street is 3 cement stools and a cement slab on a cement sidewalk. On the right, a tree on Grand Avenue only has a future if it is surrounded by a cement cage. (Photos by John Bancroft)

POLLUTION (cont'd)

movement into town, we can assume that they feed computers data like:

- 1) Number of potential suburban shoppers
- 2) Money they have to spend downtown
- 3) Number of cars to be brought downtown

4) Number of minutes and seconds the average shopping trip from the suburbs will be speeding at 60 mph. through residential neighborhoods.

5) Which neighborhoods have to be "renewed" (removed)?

And what about the computer's cost-benefit analysis? The cost: gasoline taxes which we already paid and after all, have to be spent. No sweat. The benefits: 1) downtown merchants make more money, 2) "undesirable" elements of the city are

renewed out, 3) political favors payed to the highway contractors, who will reap big money, 4) keeps the country's big corporations in business, assuring sales of new cars, gasoline and oil.

Actually, the highway is a masterpiece of design to pump tax dollars that citizens deserve for housing, education, pollution control, etc. into the big corporations, where by a feedback mechanism it goes to the rich people who can afford not to live and suffer in the city. The system will function well and efficiently IF we let it.

The American Independent Movement Newsletter is published every two weeks. Subscriptions to the AIM Newsletter cost \$5 per year, \$10 for a sponsoring subscription. Make checks payable to the AIM AIM Newsletter and mail to AIM, 241 Orange Street, New Haven, Conn. 06510. Letters to the editor are welcome. For information, write—or call 787-0123.

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